DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 028 851 RC 003 325

By-McKie, Craig; And Others
The Family in the Evolution of Agriculture.
Vanier Inst. of the Family, Ottawa (Ontario).
Pub Date Jun 68
Note-48p.; Four papers presented at an international symposium on The Family in the Evolution of Agriculture (Paris, March, 1968)
Available from-The Vanier Institute of the Family, 170 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa 4, Canada ($1.00)
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.50
Descriptors-*Agricultural Trends, Extension Education, Family Environment, *Females, *Industrialization, Part Time Farmers, Productivity, Professional Education, Rural Economics, *Rural Family, Sociocultural Patterns, Technological Advancement, *Vocational Education, Working Women
Identifiers-*Canada

Four Canadian specialists were commissioned to address themselves to (1) the evolution of agriculture and its consequences on the rural family, (2) the place and responsibility of women in the evolution of agriculture, (3) the problems of education and the professional development of women, and (4) adaptation of the rural family to technical, economic, and social change. The papers emphasized that traditional family patterns are changing in rural Canada and are becoming increasingly similar to life styles of urban families as a result of specialization and industrialization. (JH)

ED028851

THE FAMILY IN THE EVOLUTION OF AGRICULTURE

RC003325

THE VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY
L'INSTITUT VANIER DE LA FAMILLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

THE FAMILY IN THE EVOLUTION OF AGRICULTURE

THE VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY
L'INSTITUT VANIER DE LA FAMILLE
170 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa 4, Canada
June, 1968

PUBLICATIONS OF THE VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY

Elkin, Frederick, *The Family in Canada,* Ottawa: Le Droit, 4th printing, 1967 $2.00

An inventory of Family Research and Studies in Canada (1963-67), introduction by John Spencer, Ottawa : Le Droit, 1967 $2.00

The Canadian Conference on the Family, Proceedings, Ottawa : Le Droit, 1964 $2.50

McDonald, Michael, *Bibliography on the Family from the Fields of Theology and Philosophy,* 1964 $2.00

"Changes in the Family" reprinted from the *International Social Science Journal,* Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1962 $2.00

The Family in the Evolution of Agriculture, Ottawa : Le Droit, 1968 $1.00

These publications are available in both English and French.

A catalogue of 16mm films is available from the National Film Board of Canada, Distribution Branch, P.O. Box 6100, Montreal 3, Quebec.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD — *Eve Kassirer*/4

THE FAMILY IN RURAL CANADA — *Craig McKie*/6

THE ADAPTATION OF THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE RURAL FAMILY IN CANADA TO TECHNOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES — *Helen C. Abell*/15

WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION OF AGRICULTURE IN QUEBEC — *Gérald Fortin*/25

EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF RURAL WOMEN — *Margaret H. Pattillo*/32

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

EVE KASSIRER

The four papers presented in this publication were originally prepared for an international symposium on the family, entitled "The Family in the Evolution of Agriculture", held in Paris, March 1968. This symposium was part of the International Agricultural Salon organized by the Centre National des Expositions et Concours Agricoles (CENECA). Sixty-five nations at various stages in the evolution of agriculture were invited to take part. The Honourable J. J. Greene, Federal Minister of Agriculture, wishing to ensure Canada's participation, requested the Vanier Institute of the Family to prepare this country's submission.

Each nation commissioned its own specialists to address themselves to four standard themes preselected by CENECA:

1) The evolution of agriculture and its consequences on the rural family
2) The place and responsibility of the woman in the evolution of agriculture
3) The problems of education and the professional development of the woman
4) Adaptation of the rural family to technical, economic and social change

Accordingly, four Canadian specialists were commissioned by the Vanier Institute of the Family to address themselves to these same themes, vis-à-vis Canada. The very nature of the themes oriented these investigators to examine the transition of the Canadian rural family in sociological terms, rather than in technical or economic ones.

The questions they asked were: How has technical and economic change affected family patterns of behaviour; and what are the implications both for society and for the family in the future? The authors chose this sociological orientation, utilizing at the same time, evidence that Canadian farming is evolving from small family-owned and family-run farms to fewer, large "agribusinesses".

Craig McKie, in his paper, documents that the traditional farm family in Canada, is "no longer the typical mode of family organization". Linked to this is the fact that the rural family today is often committed to values and life styles similar to those associated with the urban family.

Helen C. Abell emphasizes the great capacity of adaptation of the rural family to technological, economic and social change. Her basic theme is the need to recognize the "man" dimension of rural man and not

just his role as an agricultural producer. She notes the increasing focus today being placed on this need by Departments of Agriculture, organizations and farmers.

Using the rural family in the province of Quebec as a specific example, Gérald Fortin, like Helen Abell, illustrates that it was "not society which adapted to the changed family but the family which adapted to a society that had already changed". Fortin historically traces and documents the key role played by women in this process.

Margaret H. Pattillo, in her paper, pragmatically presents a survey of emerging opportunities today, in education and vocational training for rural women and girls in Canada; and stresses the far-reaching importance of this new trend.

A common thread running through all these papers is that traditional family patterns are changing in rural Canada. But this is not an isolated phenomenon. They have changed in urban Canada too. In fact, our century is witnessing on a global scale the transition of traditional society, of which, the traditional family is but one part.

Inherent in this process is continual change in the form of increasing specialization and urbanization which accompany industrialization. At the same time, long-established patriarchal, authoritarian traditions and values are being questioned and replaced by expectations of greater equality in decision-making and in opportunities in education and the economy. The result is, that the values, life styles and kinship patterns of both urban and rural families are becoming increasingly similar.

Inevitably, many of us, including those who shape and administer social policy, will recognize with increasing clarity, that we live at the centre of a kaleidoscope where change and diversity must be welcomed.

However, the fact that family patterns are in transition does not imply that the family is losing or will lose its major functions in society. The family is still the social unit best able to take responsibility for procreation, socialization of the young, regulation of sex relations and development of personality.

The four papers presented in this compilation serve the purpose, then, of adding to already accumulated evidence that family patterns are in transition in the evolution of agriculture in Canada.

The commissioning, publishing and dissemination of this work by the Vanier Institute of the Family is one example of how the Institute functions. This Institute, globally unique and a formal voice for the family in Canada, innovates and supports research on the family and then disseminates this new knowledge to relevant organizations, governments and individuals. It does the latter through its education and information service. A list of its publications appears on page 2.

It is hoped that this publication and a forthcoming popularized résumé, available in both English and French, will be used for discussion and for developing social policy by groups that are concerned with the rural family in transition.

THE FAMILY IN RURAL CANADA

CRAIG McKIE

Department of Sociology
York University, Toronto

The family farm in Canada is rapidly being displaced by a new unit of production, the "agribusiness", which does not rely exclusively on the family for its supply of labour and capital. This changeover has had, and is continuing to have, important effects, both on the structure of the family in rural Canada and on the style of rural life. The number of persons living in rural areas has been dropping steadily, partly because of the decreased need for human labour in farming and partly because of the increased demand for labour by urban industries. One important result has been that the traditional farm family, characterized by intensive kin relationships, large size, relative geographical isolation, and the ability to perform most tasks with a high degree of self-sufficiency, is no longer the typical mode of family organization. Family farms which do persit have been transformed and families operating them are often committed to values not unlike those associated with urban families, such as the importance of higher education, economic rationality, and the desire for consumer goods.

RURAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

In the 1966 Census of Canada, the total population of the country was given as 20,014,880.[1] Of this total, only a bit fewer than 10% resided on farms. A breakdown by family was given in the 1961 Census. Out of a total of 4,147,444

families enumerated, 1,162,389 were classified as rural and of these 428, 808 or just over 10% of the total were listed as rural-farm. [2]

The average number of children per family in Canada in 1961 was 1.9. Farm families were at the high end of the scale with an average of 2.4 compared to the urban average of 1.7. [3] The rural family is also more likely to have the very large family group living together; 3.9% of Canadian rural households had ten or more persons while the corresponding figure for urban households was but 1.4%. [4]

The average age of farm operators is probably increasing year by year. In 1961, 58% of farm operators were 45 or over while in 1951 only 53% were in this age group. [5] This would suggest that a substantial number of farm workers and their families have emigrated from agricultural areas, and that these emigrants are drawn predominantly from younger age groups. If this trend has continued from 1961 to the present — and it is likely that it has — more than 60% of farm operators should be 45 years of age or older. Indeed of the total of 430,522 of farms found operating in 1966, 24,159 were operated by persons 70 years of age or over; while only 9,409 were operated by persons 25 or younger. [6]

Economists Yeh and Lew have recently estimated that the average annual net migration of farm workers per year to urban areas during the period 1951-61 was 32,000. [7] They postulated that the decline is the inevitable accompaniment of the advance of technology which has brought about the rapid mechanization of agricultural production. This mecharization has required a large amount of capital investment which marginal farmers have been unable to afford. The change has also been reflected in the decreasing number of hired workers which in Ontario declined 46% between 1946 and 1962, [8] and in the diminished use of unpaid family workers in the farm labour force. Projections of farm labour requirements for 1970 forecast the need for some 294,00 workers, a decline of 42% from the 1962 level. [9]

The long-term decline in the number of farms in Canada has meant a decrease in employment opportunities in rural Canada. It is evident that many operators have either retired from work or found other employment, usually in urban areas. Of those farmers who haven't discontinued farming, 165,723 in 1966 reported off-farm work. [10] Wages derived from this employment presumably supplemented the income derived from inefficient farm operations. Expansion of urban areas, resulting in higher prices and higher property taxes, has increased the overhead costs and made more difficult the marginal farm operation. On the other hand, many farmers who

have seen their farms encroached upon by urban sprawl and rendered uneconomic have sold their land for development at high prices and have moved elsewhere, in some cases to farms further out. Industrial pollution associated with the growth of urban areas has forced others to relocate.

Migration of farm operators to urban areas has been somewhat off-set by the immigration of European farmers to Canadian rural areas. This immigration has been in part responsible for a higher labour to capital ratio and lower relative wages than has been the case in the U.S. [11]

THE RURAL FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

Production per unit of labour in agriculture is considerably lower than in non-agricultural production. The primary reason therefore is the difficulty experienced by farm operators in converting their operations from traditional family farms using a low degree of mechanization and the labour of unpaid family members to capital-intensive businesses. Difficulties stem from many factors including lack of credit for financing the assembly of land and purchase of implements. Many families in the past have been unable to make this transition. Some more fortunate ones have been able to migrate sucessfully to the urban industrial setting but some have not and the latter remain in poverty supported by subsistence farming, welfare, and occasional employment in the vicinity. There would appear to be a hard core of rural residents, often of advanced age and low level of education, whose ability or willingness to retrain, migrate, and adapt to off-farm employment is minimal.

Rural Income. The Canadian Federation of Agriculture has reported that in 1962, farm operators and their unpaid family help made up 8.8% of the labour force in Canada, but received only 4.5% of the personal income. [12] Though the implication is that farmer workers labour for about one half the average return, the inclusion of part-time family workers has somewhat distorted these figures. It is nonetheless clear that rural incomes are low in relation to average Canadian incomes. Farm family income figures are sometimes deceptive since high-appearing operating revenues are offset by huge operating expenses. Farmers also are in continual need of new equipment and must service old debts. The farm family household budget may suffer too since its cost is variable whereas other costs may not be. In 1961, the disparity between farm and non-farm incomes in Canada was found to be almost a one-to-two relationship with a farm average of $1,950 and a non-farm average of $3,948. [13] It was also

found that incomes in the farm sector were rising at a slower rate than non-farm incomes.

Some larger farms are of course doing very well. Farm incomes have been especially high on farms large enough to offer significant economies of scale. For instance in a 1961 survey of Ontario farms, it was found of the farms generating incomes of $10,000 or more, only 15.6% were between 70 and 129 acres in size; while 74% were in the 400-559 acre range.[14] During the period 1911-1961, the number of farms in Ontario has decreased 57%. The area under cultivation has remained almost the same, decreasing by 1% during the period 1931-1961.[15] The remaining farms were however more successful. The number of Ontario farmers reporting incomes of $10,000 or more rose from 7% in 1951 to 21.1% in 1961.[16]

In many cases these larger farms are not the traditional unincorporated family type but rather incorporated businesses. Such a change has been reflected in the decline in the proportion of farm land operated by owners and tenants. Owner operation in the Province of Ontario for instance has been reduced from 84% in 1921 to 73% in 1961. The rate of farm consolidation has also more than doubled in the period 1941 to 1961 and the average farm increased by nearly 28 acres in size to reach a total of 153 acres. By comparison, in the first four decades of the century, the average size of farms increased by only 21 acres.[17] In Canada as a whole the total number of farms has decreased from a high of 732,832 in 1941 to 430,522 in 1966 with over half the decrease occuring after 1956,[18] also suggesting consolidation and larger farms.

The following figures show the comparative sizes of family incomes for the urban, rural non-farm, and farm groups in the 1961 Census.[19]

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

Income group	rural n/f	urban	farm
No income	.2	.5	5.2
under $1,499	5.1	15.2	17.0
$1,500 - $2,999	11.3	24.1	27.8
$3,000 - $4,499	22.3	25.4	21.5
$4,500 - $9,999	50.7	30.9	24.1
$10,000 plus	10.4	3.9	4.4

Thus exactly one half of farm families had incomes below $3,000, a figure which in recent years has been given as the line below which

families may be considered poor in Canada. It is also more difficult to live at this income level given the higher number of family members in the farm family. Figures previously cited showed that the number of farms decreased 10% between the time these figures were prepared in 1966. Presumably most of these 10% were forced out of business during the interim. Rural non-farm families according to these figures are not in much better financial straits than farm families.

To make ends meet many operators of unproductive farms supplement their incomes from other sources. Figures from the following table show that only relatively well-to-do farmers do not seek to a major degree to supplement their farming incomes. [20]

INCOMES OF FARMERS FROM FARMING AND NON-FARMING SOURCES 1958

Value of Produce Sold in Dollars	% of total farms	Net Family Income sources farm	sources non-farm	Farm income as % of income from all sources
less than $250	7.3	$ 27	$2,503	1
$251-$1,199	15.3	518	2,349	22
$1,200-$2,499	20.6	1,185	1,264	48
$2,500-$4,999	27.7	2,125	922	69
$5,000-$9,999	20.4	3,795	899	81
$10,000-$14,999	5.0	6,005	1,002	86
$15,000-$24,999	2.7	7,176	1,193	86
$25,000 plus	1.1	15,193	1,741	90
all farms	100.1	$ 2,344	$1,262	65

Farm wives are less likely than their urban counterparts to take jobs for pay. (In 1961, 18.5% to 21.3%) but since unpaid farm labour is not included, such comparative figures are not very revealing. [21]

Child Labour in Family Farm Operation. On the traditional family farm, work done by children was an essential ingredient for a successful and continued operation. Together with hired labourers, who often worked for room and board and a few dollars a month, the children of the family performed the labour which is today performed more and more by machines. Such children often are now freed from their traditional tasks and seek employment elsewhere. The farming sector of the economy still has the highest percentage of child labour (17.3% in 1961) but the percentage seems to be decreasing. [22]

THE QUALITY OF RURAL LIFE

The growth of urban areas, changes in agricultural technology, freer mobility, the increasing availability of television and other mass communications media, and many other factors have combined to bring about a transformation of life styles in rural Canada. Traditionalism and entrenched localism is passing from the scene and together with it is going the one-time laissez-faire attitudes to life and labour traditionally associated with the farmer and his family. Accompanying the developing technological and social changes have come attitudes more in common with those of the cosmopolitan urbanite.

One manifestation of the change in values is the degree to which farm families have come to accept the need of education in both the compulsory primary grades and higher education. This has not been an easy development — witness the many arguments over the years regarding consolidated schools and subsequent tax increases. The traditional farm family valued children among other reasons for their labour potential; education, while considered to be beneficial, had to take second place to the requirements of farm operations. This has changed with mechanization. Farm families in Canada now leave their children to school longer than rural non-farm families. School attendance figures in fact are not very different from those of urban Canadian families. [23]

PROPORTION OF RURAL FARM, RURAL NON-FARM AND URBAN SCHOOL AGE POPULATION ATTENDING SCHOOL BY AGE GROUPS

Age Group	Rural Farm	Rural n/f	Urban
5-24	67.4	64.1	65.7
5-9	70.6	70.0	77.9
10-14	97.2	90.5	97.2
15-19	57.2	53.8	60.2
20-24	7.0	5.0	8.8

It is difficult to say exactly how the spread in the size of rural incomes affects life styles. Certainly many farm families in Canada are living on a very small margin and can afford few non-essential consumer goods. The fact that so many of these farms are unincorporated makes it impossible to determine the extent to which the household budget suffers when costs of production rise for no separate records may be maintained. It is clear though that those farm families which have successfully converted their farms into businesses have a moderately high standard of living and are able to purchase most of the consumer goods available to their urban counterparts. These goods of

course are also more available now than they were to the traditional farm family of the past. Several indices point to this change. For example, the number of automobiles owned by Canadian farmers today is higher than in 1931 when there were twice as many farmers (321,284 in 1931; 355,957 in 1966).[24] In the same period, the number of trucks owned has gone from 48,401 to 344,836. Reporting that they owned two or more automobiles were approximately 9% of farmers. This figure is still below the figure for the country as a whole since some 15% of Canadian households now own two or more cars.[25]

Perhaps a more significant indicator of the rising standard of living for most farm families is the Dominion Bureau of Statistics finding that in 1966, approximately 88% of farms recorded reported electrical power on the site. The figures concerning household appliances are even more impressive for they suggest that almost all families in Canada — rural and urban — have basic appliances. In 1967, 97.2% of Canadian households had electric refrigerators, 96.7% had radios, 91.6% telephones, and 94.5% television sets.[26]

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

It seems likely that the productivity squeeze will continue to force small and unprofitable family farms out of business. This would mean that many more farm families, and also families which now derive their incomes from small enterprises in rural towns, will be forced to migrate to urban manufacturing centres in order to find employment. Remaining farms will be larger, more mechanized, and more profitable. In all probability, the families operating these large enterprises will continue to grow more urban in their values and outlook as time goes by and as the social distance between farm and city diminishes. Farm operators will be more educated and more aware of technological developments. There will undoubtedly be, as there are now, a certain number of families who will remain on their unprofitable farms because for one reason or another, they are unable to adapt to the changed conditions. These will in effect cease to be commercial farmers.

Children will continue to be drawn away from rural areas by the comparatively strong inducements of jobs and higher salaries in urban areas. The old-time farm operators seem destined to remain a relatively aged group; the young if they continue on the farm will be participants in the development of the new agricultural technology.

In the rural family in Canada today we see much evidence of such changes to come. Social relationships in rural areas today are

less personalized than they were 50 years ago. The rural family is now a less isolated, self-sufficient institution than it used to be. It has definite linkages now with the values, behaviour patterns, and information media present in the urban milieu. We find a less well-defined division of labour with an enhancement of the status of women, a changed definition of the utility value of children, and more prevalent person-centred criteria for choosing friends and mates.

Looking at rural families today and in the past perhaps the most striking differences is that the farm family today does not necessarily imply a family farm. Families still work on farms but the number of owner-operator families grows smaller each year and the type of farm family less and less stereotyped.

REFERENCES

1 D.B.S., Advance Bulletin 96-625, 1966 Census, Ottawa.

2 D.B.S., 1961 Census, 99-526.

3 D.B.S., 1961 Census, 99-526.

4 D.B.S., 1961 Census, 99-528, Table III (8-7).

5 M. L. Lerohl and G. A. MacEachern, "Factor Shares in Agriculture: The Canada - U.S. Experience", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* Vol. XV, 1967, p. 13.

6 D.B.S., Advance Bulletin 96-625, 1966 Census.

7 M. H. Yeh and Lew-King Li, "A Regional Analysis of the Supply and Demand of Farm Labour in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* Vol. XIV, 1966, p. 16.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

10 D.B.S., Advance Bulletin 96-625, 1966 Census.

11 M. L. Lerohl and G. A. MacEachern, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

12 Cited in S. N. Kulshreshtha, "An Approach to Develop Comparisons of Farm and Non-Farm Incomes in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* vol. XIV, 1966, p. 62.

13 S. N. Kulshreshtha, "Measuring the Relative Income of Farm Labour, 1941-1965", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* vol. XV, 1967, p. 37.

14 R. G. F. Hill and H. Weijs, "Farm Enlargement and Consolidation in Ontario", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* vol. XIV, 1966, p. 69.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

17 Hill and Weijs, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

18 D.B.S., Advance Bulletin 96-625, 1966 Census.

19 Derived from: "Family Income Distribution of Economic Families in Canada" from unpublished figures by Central Research Div., D.B.S., cited in J. M. Fitzpatrick and C. V. Parker, "Distribution of Income in Canadian Agriculture", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, vol. XIII, 1965, p. 74.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

21 D.B.S., Census of 1961, publication No. 1-30, Table XXI.

22 Kulshreshtha, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

23 D. R. Whyte, "Social Determinants of Inter-Community Mobility", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 4, 1967, p. 7, Table 5.

24 D.B.S., Advance Bulletin 96-622, 1966.

25 Maclean-Hunter Research Bureau, "Market Research Facts and Trends", Dec. 1967, p. 4, source: D.B.S. "Household Facilities and Equipment", 1967.

26 *Ibid.*

HELEN C. ABELL

Professor of Sociology
Department of Geography
and Planning
University of Waterloo
Waterloo

THE ADAPTATION OF THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE RURAL FAMILY IN CANADA TO TECHNOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES

Canada has just celebrated its 100th birthday with the world's biggest country fair to date "Expo 67". Tucked away in one corner of this vast and imaginative exposition of Man and His World was an exhibit devoted to agriculture. It was titled Man The Producer. Yet predictably and unfortunately it focussed almost exclusively on production and little on man.

Emphasis was placed on important technological advances in Canadian agriculture including the uses of computers, atoms, modern machinery and equipment, chemicals and advances in the quality and efficiency of both crop and animal production. The Canadian farm family was not explicitly recognized nor depicted, nor were visitors reminded that at the time of Confederation in 1867 the vast majority of Canadians (approximately 80-90%) were rural dwellers wrestling a living from the land.

At this point of time (1968) less than one Canadian in ten is a member of a farm family. The majority of Canadians are active participants in an urbanized, industrialized society with little awareness or appreciation of rural concerns. There would seem to be a real need for continuous recognition not only of the technological advances evident in both urban and rural Canada over the years, but also of the extent to which rural families have adapted their way of life to technological, economic and social

changes which have led their nation to one of the world's highest levels of living.

Pioneer life in Canada for the majority of the early settlers from France and Britain who carved their farms from the forests of eastern Canada, was largely a matter of subsistence, using basic agricultural implements of axes, spades and hoes.

It is recorded that in 1830 farming methods were primitive, not only absolutely but comparatively, since the modern techniques of ploughing and rotation were already common in England and Europe though not in Canada. Factors contributing to this cultural lag were explained as "Scarcity of capital and lack of cash market". [1]

Under these conditions the entire farm family had clearly defined work roles. Boys had chores not only in the barns and fields assisting their fathers but duties concerning the home such as splitting and piling firewood and carrying water for stock and for family use. Girls assisted their mothers in all of the household tasks as well as such farm duties as milking, and care of the poultry.

For many farm tasks, particularly at planting and harvesting times the family worked together as a group often assisted by members of neighbouring families.

This pioneer heritage of family interdependence in work and living based on entrepreneurship, independence and a moral and economic value on hard work underlies the agricultural fundamentalism which has characterized the thinking of most Canadian farmers and politicians in struggles to perpetuate this image of the family farm into the beginning of the last half of the twentieth century.

About mid-way in the nineteenth century, technology in the form of labour-saving farm machines became accepted on the Canadian scene as more machines were invented in Europe, the U.S.A. and in Canada and became available. The population began to spread westward onto the fertile prairies which began to be farmed early in the twentieth century. The First World War gave further impetus to agricultural technology as high prices for needed farm produce provided the means to purchase mechanical implements. This technological revolution in agriculture speeded up over the years with innovations such as (1) the putting of rubber tires on farm machines, (2) the fitting of implements to power units such as tractors, and (3) the mounting of power units on machines such as the self-propelled combine.

Evidence of the speed with which Canadian farm families adopted this form of technology is seen in the fact that for grain combines,

the Census of Canada 1941 records only 3 such machines for 100 farms whereas in 1961 the figure had risen to 82 machines per 100 farms. Similarly with tractors, the distribution per 100 farms in 1941 was 22. In 1961 the Census recorded 114 tractors per 100 farms. [2]

With such an advance in the substitution of machines for human labour the farm family has undergone corresponding changes.

One of the most outstanding changes is that the proportion of rural Canadians to the total population has continuously diminished since 1871, the year of the first census. At that time eighty percent of the population were classified as rural. By 1921 the proportion had dropped to fifty percent. By 1961 it was thirty percent rural. A sub-classification of this category records 19% as rural non-farm and 11% as farm population.

Correspondingly farm numbers have steadily decreased but average acreage per farm has steadily risen. Canada has long been an exporter of agricultural produce, particularly wheat. Many of her economic problems in agriculture concern marketing rather than production.

Such changes as these could not have taken place if the productivity of farmers had not steadily increased.

The extent of this increasing productivity per farm worker in Canada is shown in Table 1 where prior to World War II the production of one farm worker supplied food and fibre for eleven persons in contrast to 1962 when the corresponding figures were one farm worker supplying food and fibre for 31 other persons.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF PERSONS SUPPLIED WITH FOOD AND FIBRE BY PRODUCTION OF ONE FARM WORKER, CANADA 1935-62 [3]

(Three Year Moving Averages)

Period or Year	Number Supplied
1935-39	11
1940-44	13
1945-49	15
1950-54	19
1955-59	25
1960	29
1961	30
1962	31

One important factor associated with this increased productivity is that most labour on Canadian farms still comes from the owner-operator and from unpaid family labour despite the fact that the proportion of paid workers employed in agriculture, has risen about 5% in the past ten years.

Labour force surveys show that for the 1954-58 period the total number of agricultural workers (classified as either farm operators, as unpaid family or as paid) averaged about three quarters of a million persons (786,000) of whom 66% were farm operators, 21% were unpaid family members and 13% were paid workers.

In 1967 the total number of agricultural workers had dropped to 556,000 persons, of whom 60% were farm operators, 22% were unpaid family workers and 18% were paid employees.

Although absolute numbers of farm operators and of unpaid family workers has declined the number of paid workers is about the same as it was ten years ago. However, the composition of this agricultural work force shows that the proportion of paid workers is increasing, the proportion of farm operators is decreasing but the proportion of unpaid family workers (chiefly wives and sons of farmers) has held constant. Supporting data is presented in Table 2.[4]

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE, BY CLASS OF WORKER, CANADA

Selected Periods 1954-67

Figures are in thousands; percent is in ( )

	Total	Farm Operators	Unpaid Family	Paid
1954-58 [a]	786 (100)	519 (66)	163 (21)	104 (13)
1959-63 [a]	667 (100)	426 (64)	133 (20)	108 (16)
1964	610 (100)	397 (63)	134 (21)	99 (16)
1965	594 (100)	363 (61)	126 (21)	105 (18)
1966	543 (100)	335 (62)	110 (20)	98 (18)
1967 [b]	556 (100)	332 (60)	121 (22)	103 (18)

[a] Annual average

[b] January to August

Concomitant with this evidence of the continuing role played by unpaid family workers is the fact that within the period 1961-1965 while the number of "census" farms in Canada decreased by approximately 50,000 (from 480,903 in 1961 to 430,522 in 1966) there was an absolute increase in the number of "commercial" farms from 259,037 in 1961 to 276,835 in 1966.

In Canada a farm is defined by the census as an agricultural holding of one acre or more with sales of agricultural products during the 12-month period preceding the date of the census of $50 or more. In 1966 the definition of a commercial farm used by the census is an agricultural holding of one acre or more with sales of agricultural produce during the 12-month period preceding the date of the census of $2,500 or more.

Thus, the unpaid family labour force, holding proportionately constant over time on farms, is found on commercial farms and not just on relatively uneconomic "low-income" farms. The presence of this family labour force is still an important aspect of Canadian farm life.

Some understanding of the farm labour and other social adjustments made by farm families over time is obtained from a study of 352 farm homemakers in the province of Ontario. [5]

These farm wives were asked whether they did more or less farm wor'- at the time of the study (1959) than when they were first marr. d living on the farms where they were interviewed; an average ime" of nineteen years. While half of the women said "less" er half were almost equally divided between saying "more farm now" and "about the same amount".

The maj. n given for all shifts in the amount of farm work being undertaken by these farmers' wives was that the availability of farm labour had changed. Other farm homemakers said that the size of the farm or the type of enterprise had altered, that health or age had interfered, or that economic pressures had caused more or less farm work to be contributed by the farm wife herself.

These findings point out adaptability of these women in response to the demands made on them as members of modern farm families. Only one in ten of these farms had either full-time or seasonal hired farm help. Most farms depended entirely on the labour contributed by the male farm operator himself, his wife and the children; together with the contribution made possible with labour-saving equipment and machinery.

In computing the actual number of man hours expended on farm labour on these 352 "mixed" farms, male children over 14 years were counted as men, most of the farm boys drove tractors and other self-propelled farm machines long before this age. Nearly all (97%) of the farm homemakers reported doing one or more farm tasks such as operating farm machinery, driving a truck or tractor, keeping farm

accounts, handling eggs and feeding livestock as well as some field and garden work.

By not confining themselves solely to housework and child rearing women turned in considerable "man equivalents" [6] of farm work. Half of the homemakers in this study contributed an average of at least two months, and a quarter of them averaged some five and a half months of farm work each year.

In this study about one-third of the farm operators were engaged in varying amounts of off-farm work to supplement family incomes. This proportion of adult male farmers reporting part-time non-farm work was practically identical with the 1961 Census of Canada figure for all Canadian farmers.

This trend to part-time farming in Canada relates to a variety of factors including the availability of non-farm employment within commuting distance of farms as well as the ability of the family to adapt farm operation to absences of the male operator.

In the study of 352 Ontario farm families it was found that efforts to increase family income through off-farm work were not the sole responsibility of the adult male farm operator. Among the 127 families reporting income from both farming as well as non-farm work, in 6 of each 10 it was the husband alone who earned off-farm income, in 3 of each 10 it was the wife alone who did so and in 1 of 10 families both husband and wife supplemented the family income by their non-farm earnings.

Continuance of farming as a family concern, rather than the sole responsibility of the adult male farmer was indicated in this study by the additional finding that in the few families where the adult male had a "full-time" non-farm occupation, none of the homemakers went outside the home to earn additional family income. In fact, several of these particular women had taken over the entire responsibility for managing the farm including the hiring of occasional labour for certain peak work periods.

Much of the planning and decision-making essential from day to day in both running a home and in operating a farm was found to be generally shared by husband and wife on the majority of farms in this particular study. These decisions varied in importance but many of them related to the earning or spending of income. They all affected the farm family in some manner.

It was found that when it came to making plans affecting the farm, the farm operator alone made the decisions in half of the 352 families,

but among one-third, farm plans were made jointly by husband and wife, on the rest of the farms other persons including adult children, relatives and business partners were involved in planning and decision-making concerning the farm business.

In regard to plans and decisions affecting the home itself husbands and wives performed this function jointly in half of the families while for one-third it was the wife alone who did this task.

As for labour-saving household appliances and equipment seven out of each ten farm couples jointly planned for and bought these items while for farm equipment and machinery in eight of ten families the husband alone made these types of purchases which had been jointly planned with their wives in three instances out of every ten.

In spite of wide variations in size of farm and volume of farm business among these 352 farm families it was found that 4 of each 5 homes had major items of home labour saving equipment (washing machines, home freezers, etc.) valued at between one and two thousand dollars. This is in contrast to a variation on these same farms of major items of labour saving farm machinery and equipment ranging in value from $100 to $24,500. These findings clearly indicate a level of living standard for these farm families which incorporated a basic core of home appliances and equipment regardless of equipment and machinery owned for farm production purposes.

There was evidence that for two-thirds of these farm families the deciding of priorities between purchase of desired future home or farm equipment was a joint husband-wife decision. When faced with this type of decision (as was the case with practically all of the families in this study) six out of ten of the farm wives said that the desired item of farm machinery would have priority, three said it would be the desired home equipment and only one in ten was in doubt. Regardless of the designated type of equipment which would be bought first, reasons for the choice most often related to "greater need" or "economic necessity" or "to save labour".

The research findings which have been cited are drawn from a representative sample of farm families residing within one of the ten provinces of Canada. A province set in a relatively prosperous region. However, within this province and more particularly in contrast with other provinces there is evidence of wide disparities of both an economic and social nature between farm families throughout the nation.

The Census of 1961 provided glaring evidence of economic disparities in Canadian agriculture as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

ECONOMIC DISPARITY IN CANADIAN AGRICULTURE

Farm Data Classified
By Economic Class of Farm, Canada 1961 [7]
Percent Distribution by Economic Class — 1961

Value of Farm Products Sold	Number of Farms	Number of Farms	Land In Farms	Value In Products Sold
$10,000 +	49,841	10	23	45
$2,500 - 9,999	209,196	44	50	45
$2,499 and less	221,866	46	27	10
Total	480,903	100	100	100

The 10% of the farms on which farmers and their families in 1961 occupied 23% of the land farmed in Canada and accounted for 45% of the value of all farm products sold, shows the relatively small proportion of farm families who have most successfully adapted their way of life to a complex, competitive farm economy. This 10% of the farms in Canada represents a high level of economic activity characterized by the adoption of modern farm technology and marketing practices.

Unfortunately almost half (46%) of the farms in Canada in 1961 occupied about one-quarter (27%) of all the land in farms in the nation and accounted for only 10% of the value of products sold.

Concentration of public attention on this serious situation and potential government remedial action for these economically disparate farms was attempted in 1961 with the passing of the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA) by the Government of Canada.

The ARDA legislation enabled a variety of actions to be initiated by each Canadian province with financial help and guidance available from the Federal Government. In the first five years of ARDA's existence much of the activity concentrated on development of natural resources (such as community pastures) with little noticeable effect on the socially and economically disadvantaged rural people whose condition was relatively unchanged.

In a publication entitled *Partners in Progress* issued in June 1966 [8], Mr. Maurice Sauvé, Minister of Forestry and Development, pointed out that "the basic objective of ARDA is to increase rural income and employment opportunities — not by relief measures and government subsidies and give-aways, but by improving the manage-

ment and use of natural resources and by assisting low-income people either to utilize the resources more profitably or to seek alternative opportunities in the many other fields that exist in our dynamic society".

Unfortunately little of the vision and potential in this statement has as yet been realized. One reason is that the rural poor, those who have not adapted themselves to the demands of modern life, are relatively unaware of the existence of the ARDA legislation. Another basic reason is that the whole concept on which ARDA is based is relatively new to most Government representatives in Federal and Provincial Departments of Agriculture. It is also a new concept to those members of the civil service who have been used to implementing long-established agriculture-production types of programmes — programmes which have been readily adopted by many, but by no means the majority of Canadian farmers.

Some understanding of the factors involved in resistance to technological, economic and social change characteristic of families in "low-income", "uneconomic" or "small" farms in Canada was obtained over ten years ago. [9]

Particularly significant reasons for the continued existence of uneconomic farms such as those investigated in this study were :

1. Most of the farmers said that they were satisfied with their present way of life. This satisfaction had religious, family and other social rather than economic foundations.
2. Most of the farmers had not adopted recommended farming practices which could increase their income.
3. Most of the farmers were opposed to their sons obtaining sufficient education which either could open alternative employment opportunities to them or enable them to become more skilled farmers.
4. Most of the farmers were reluctant to take advantage of available credit facilities to expand their farms.

The respondents in this study seem to epitomize the traditional "way of life" aspect of farming. This research and other studies conducted over the past few years by other researchers in Canada point to the need for adjustments (both social and economic) which will encourage and enable disadvantaged farm families to enter the main streams of Canadian rural and urban life.

Government programmes, other than through the Department of Agriculture, are now being carried out in Canada for the purpose of

providing needed training and retraining of both urban and rural manpower. In addition, Departments of Agriculture, farmers organizations and concerned citizens are developing new attitudes and policies which emphasize the total well-being of rural man and not just his role as an agricultural producer.

REFERENCES

1 W. J. Easterbrook and Hugh C. J. Aitken, *Canadian Economic History,* Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1958.

2 *Census of Canada 1941,* Vol. VIII, Agriculture Part I and *Supplement to Handbook of Agricultural Statistics,* Ottawa, 1964.

3 Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Yearbook,* 1965.

4 Source: *Canadian Farm Economics,* Vol. 2, Supplement, December 1967, Economics Branch, Canada Department of Agriculture, p. 15.

5 Helen C. Abell, Lois Clipsham and Phyllis D. Ferris, *Farm Families Today.* Published by Home Economics Branch, Ontario Department of Agriculture and Food, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1966.

6 The amount of human labour expended on any farm over a 12-month period may be measured in man equivalents (M.E.). The labour force operating these 352 Ontario farms ranged from one-tenth of one M.E. to over 10 M.E. The central tendency was a labour force of more than one to less than two M.E. per farm indicating labour of the farm operator, and help from family members.

7 Source: Census of Canada 1961, Series 5.1, Table 31 as referred to in *Rural Canada in Transition* edited by Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Walton J. Anderson, Agricultural Economic Research Council of Canada, 1966, ch. 3. "The Social Consequences of the Modernization of Agriculture", Helen C. Abell.

8 *Partners in Progress.* Department of Forestry and Rural Development, Government of Canada, June 1966.

9 Helen C. Abell, "Some Reasons For the Persistance of Small Farms", *Economic Analyst,* vol. XXVI, No. 5, October 1956, Economic Division, Canada Department of Agriculture.

GÉRALD FORTIN

Director
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Faculty of Social Sciences
Laval University, Quebec

WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION OF AGRICULTURE IN QUEBEC

In order to understand fully the role women have played in the evolution of the farming family and agriculture it is necessary to recall certain outstanding facts about farming in Quebec. During the entire period of French rule farming was more or less a secondary activity in the colony. The main activity was fur trading and before being farmers the peasants, and the townspeople too for that matter, were fur traders or *coureurs des bois*. In this context the wife played a more important role than the peasant woman in France at that time. Left by herself for many months at a time she had to take charge of the farm, if there happened to be a farm, and of the entire family.

After the conquest the approximately sixty thousand Canadians in the colony were obliged to turn to farming because trade was being taken out of their hands. The clergy of New France who had been dreaming for a hundred years of forming a new rural society based on agriculture also encouraged them to engage in farming. Finally, farming seemed to provide a refuge from assimilation by the invader.

Until quite recently the farming French-Canadians engaged in from 1760 on was technically backward. Under French rule, barely 25% of the immigrants from France were peasants. The *seigneurs* were not rural lords but soldiers or merchants. Most members of the

clergy who favoured farming had an urban background. As they had lost their knowledge and their tradition during a century or more of non-agricultural activity, and lacking a competent leader, French-Canadians created a type of farming not far removed from the gathering techniques. These techniques gradually improved but even as late as 1890 Léon Gérin[1] was in a position to state that in the region of Montreal — the most prosperous agricultural area — subsistence farming was still carried on with techniques which, at least in spirit and organization, were gathering techniques.

At the beginning of the twentieth century almost half the French-Canadian population in Quebec was engaged in this type of farming. However, a new type of farming which was to prove more suitable to the climatic and soil conditions, namely, the dairy industry, was beginning to make its appearance. But although this change brought specialization to Quebec farming it did not succeed in changing individual operations. Every farm was still based on subsistence farming that would enable families to be self-sufficient for most of their needs. At the farm level the dairy industry seemed to represent a cash crop rather than any real specialization. This state of affairs prevailed until around 1940. Even at that time 25% of the population still made a living by farming and barely 10% of the farmers could be considered as specialized or commercial farmers.

Since 1940, farming in Quebec has undergone a complete change. Agricultural production has grown substantially and specialization has become increasingly varied. The number of farmers, on the other hand, has decreased both in relative and absolute figures. Barely 5-6% of Quebec's labour force is engaged in farming activities. This process has not yet ended. It is well on its way, however, what with the specialization and commercialization of agriculture and farmers, the mass abandonment of subsistence farming and the mass disappearance of marginal farming. Whereas up to the '40s and '50s Quebec agriculture was more or less isolated from the Canadian and, in particular, the North American agricultural context, it is now an integral part of that context and its character can now be increasingly defined, not in relation to a non-local or even a regional market, but to a continental market. Farming has ceased to be merely a way of life or a means of defence against Protestant Anglo-Saxon assimilation and has become an economic activity within a specific economic context.

The factors responsible for this radical change in farming and in the orientation of an entire population are varied and highly com-

plex. It would take too long to analyse all these factors, and particularly to study their interaction. We shall deal here with the importance of the family structure and the role women have played in the development of this situation. It should be borne in mind, however, that while these two variables are extremely important they are nonetheless influenced by Quebec's socio-economic context.

Quebec authors have dealt at considerable length with the mother's domination and the father's absence in the French-Canadian home. This theme, which still appears frequently in contemporary novels, does not merely translate a new reality, that of a recently urbanized population in which matriarchy tends to prevail. As we have pointed out, economic activity under French rule gave the mother a central role to play because the father was so often away. When our ancestors the *coureurs des bois* became farmers they were not able to take away from the mother all the functions she had traditionally played. Although the continual presence of the father in a traditional type of farming seemed to favour the emergence of a patriarchal form of family structure, it was always a modified type of patriarchy in which the father had to allow the mother to exercise a fair amount of leadership if not of authority. While the father's authority in matters pertaining to farm operations was hardly ever questioned, the mother retained the role of a spiritual and moral guide and acted as a mediator in affective matters. As she had usually received more education than her husband the rural wife kept the accounts both for the family and the farm operations. She was thus able to influence the farm operations to some extent, and to limit the head of the family's authority to some degree even where production was concerned. But it was not at this level that the rural mother's influence was traditionally important. As she was more educated than her husband she became the repository of spiritual, intellectual and moral values. Being more directly concerned with these problems she also tended to follow the teachings of the clergy more readily and to accept the values they conveyed. It should be recalled here that farming in Quebec was originally a clerical utopia and later, under the name of agriculturalism or ruralism, was strongly supported by the rural clergy. To a far greater degree than her husband, the wife assimilated these values and ideologies and sought to make them a part of everyday life. Culturally, and perhaps even biologically, one may wonder if the rural French-Canadian did not remain a *coureur des bois* at heart. The difficulties inherent to subsistence farming forced him to remain a *coureur des bois* since he often had to go hunting in order to add to the insufficient food he gathered and to

work in the forest as a woodsman to make up the family income. The main challenge for him was not to cultivate a piece of land but to clear it. Even today the forest has an almost magic attraction for urban and rural Quebecers alike. It is both a symbol of challenge and of liberation.

If subsistence farming started and continues to exist in Quebec it is mainly because the rural wife believed in this way of life and succeeded in imposing it on her husband and sons. This is all the more true since the wife actually had to take charge of the farm work for three or four months a year because her husband had to go away and work in the forest.

In the more prosperous areas, that is, in areas where the climate and soil were more suitable, the husband was not obliged to go away and his continuous presence on the farm gave agricultural operations a more stable form. Subsistence farming disappeared more rapidly in these areas. Having himself assumed his role as a farmer the husband was able to play his part to the full, to direct operations and to organize production more methodically. He was more willing to take his wife's advice and, in particular to take the advice of agronomists and agricultural experts. Thus he truly became a farmer.

Protected by the moral influence of the wife, subsistence farming was to disappear when she changed her image of the situation. This change occurred from 1940 to 1950. While there are many reasons for the change we shall only deal with what seem to us to be the three most important ones. Firstly, during World War II, Quebec agriculture experienced unprecedented prosperity because supply and demand for farm produce were temporarily set aside. Even with very traditional techniques Quebec farmers were able to make a very substantial profit. This money was not reinvested in capital goods but was used almost entirely to increase family consumption. Thus, not only did the standard of living of farm families rise suddenly but their way of life began to change. They discovered that it was easier to buy manufactured goods and found that such purchases could even be profitable. It was better to devote one's energy to raising hogs or poultry than to "waste one's time" baking bread, weaving, growing vegetables for family consumption and so on. This new type of economic calculation, which takes both cost and time spent into account, was discovered mainly by the women as most of the work that was abandoned in favour of more profitable activities had been done traditionally by women. This prosperity enabled them to get used to new goods and new consumer services and to learn new ways of

economic calculation. Secondly, the rural community which up to that time had been more or less isolated from the influence of the urban community came into direct contact with that community. Such relative prosperity made the electrification of rural areas possible, and country people could purchase motor vehicles and radio sets. Not only could people in rural areas actually get in touch with the city but the city, with its way of life and its values was penetrating into the rural environment. Here again it was the wife who felt the impact most because she was more exposed to the influence of mass communication media. The younger children being at home listened to the radio with their mother and soon became her allies in defining the new needs and the new values. Thirdly, as the rural ideology was again being questioned at that time, it began to lose its importance. As we mentioned earlier, this ideology had to a great extent been conveyed by the rural clergy and women had assimilated it quite easily. As soon as women, the best reference group, began to be exposed to more pluralistic values through the media of mass communication, they started to doubt their own basic ideology. And this, of course, strengthened the impact of the new values.

After the war, when the normal action of supply and demand began again, the agricultural income of Quebec farmers dropped very substantially. Traditional farming did not allow for the standard of living or the way of life families had enjoyed for a few years. But the woman's image of the situation had changed to such an extent that it was not possible to revert to former ways. Backed by her children who were accepting the new values more and more as a consequence of school centralization, the farmer's wife obliged her husband to choose between modernizing his farm operations and specializing in order to increase his profits, or working outside the farm in order to earn enough money to guarantee the new standard of living. In the more prosperous regions where the husband was already involved in agricultural reform he chose the first of these solutions. This is how an entirely modern type of farming started and continues to develop in Quebec. There are at the most 25,000 such operators. In other areas, because it was difficult to make farming profitable, the husband turned more and more to logging or mining in order to increase the family income. Such part-time farming is highly unstable, however, and ends almost inevitably in farming being completely abondoned. In fact, the more the husband has to resort to nonagricultural work to increase his income, the more the wife and younger children have to attend to the farm. Traditionally the wife agreed to take charge of the farm for a relatively long period

of time when her husband was away. But the new way of life she is getting used to more and more, makes it increasingly difficult for her to take on the extra work. All the more so since in the past, the period of time during which she did such work was three months at the most, whereas in the new situation this period may extend to 7 or 8 months a year. When subsistence or semi-subsistence farming thus becomes a woman's occupation it rarely lasts more than 3 or 4 years. Overburdened by this activity she reduces the number of cattle, eventually gives up farming and quite often sells the land. The number of marginal farms dropped from 135,000 in 1951 to 45,000 in 1956. As mentioned elsewhere, this process has not yet ended.

What struck us particularly in the surveys we made in this connection, either alone or with the help of assistants, [2] was the relative passivity of the husband when faced with this situation and the change taking place. Except where subsistence farming has changed to commercial farming and the husband takes matters in hand fairly rapidly, the Quebec farmer who finds himself faced with such a situation and such a choice lets himself be carried along by events and gives in to the pressure exercised by his wife and children. The only positive reaction we were able to discover was a kind of mild joy at leaving the farming to venture into the forest again. Because of the context of forestry operations in Quebec at the present time, however, this joy is short lived. A passive and unwilling patriarch, the Quebec farmer watched his fate being decided either by the clergy and the ideologists or by the mass communications media, and in both cases his wife was essentially the mediator.

Earlier, we mentioned three factors which, to our mind, are of primary importance in explaining how farming and the rural family in Quebec have adjusted to our modern North American society. These factors — artificial prosperity, massive contact with mass communications media and the erosion of traditional ideologies — were combined in such a way that their coincidence is not likely to occur in any planning process. Moreover, the example of Quebec illustrates the fact that it was not society which adapted to the changed family but the family which adapted to a society that had already changed. The important role of the wife in this process is in intself a special historical and cultural event which it would be difficult to repeat elsewhere. She was the mediator only because the historical, political and social context allowed or required her to play this part. This is the context the planner must consider and, above all, he must consider the interaction of the various elements comprising that context. Depending on the contexts and the forces influencing them, the wife

and the family can either constitute the foundation of conservatism, or be the greatest champions of innovation.

REFERENCES

1 Léon Guérin, *Le type économique et social de l'habitant canadien-français*, Montréal, Presses de l'Action française, 1933.

2 Gilles Picard, Albert Juneau, Camille Legendre, Suzanne McLaren, Jocelyne Valois, Denise Lemieux.

MARGARET H. PATTILLO

Associate Professor
Extension Division
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF RURAL WOMEN

Rural women in Canada today did not have the educational opportunities during their developmental years that are available to girls at the present time. In this paper the situation of women is reviewed and this is followed by a survey of the opportunities in the formal school system for rural girls.

Inevitably familiarity with the province of Saskatchewan will cause me to use specific information from this province but this is done with confidence that patterns with similar objectives are to be found in other provinces.

RURAL WOMEN

Rural people in Canada are divided by census definition into two groups. Those living in communities of under 1,000 people are classed as "rural non-farm" and those on farms are classed as "rural farm".

The 1966 census numbered 889,843 women and girls as rural non-farm.[3] About one third were French speaking women and girls, and, of these, about 38 per cent were rural farm.[4] There were 254,877 more rural men than women[3].

In 1961, 145,454 rural women and girls had completed some or all of the secondary school education and 5,109 some or all of a university degree. Non-farm rural women are in the majority in both categories.

EDUCATION LEVEL OF WOMEN RURAL FARM, NON-FARM IN CANADA 1961 [4]

			No. Now Attending or Level Reached		
Canada	*Total Population*	*No. 5 years old and up*	*Elementary*	*Secondary*	*University*
Farm	952,690	836,635	212,283	67,937	2,036
Non-Farm	1,657,587	1,416,808	335,185	77,517	3,073
Rural	2,610,277	2,253,443	547,468	145,454	5,109

About half of all rural women of 20 to 74 years of age are between the ages of 30 and 49 years. Those between 20 and 29 years of age make up 18 per cent of the total.

The largest single grouping is that of the age group between 15 to 19 years. Many of these are in school since attendance is compulsory to the 16th birthday in most of Canada.

CANADA (WOMEN) [4]

Age Groups	*Farm*	*Non-Farm*
15-19 years	94,346	131,950
20-24	42,474	100,726
25-29	42,073	102,657
30-34	51,141	103,254
35-39	60,118	101,356
40-44	59,863	88,127
45-49	55,681	76,662
50-54	47,784	63,816
55-59	39,617	54,175
60-64	29,169	50,048
65-69	20,777	46,134
70-74	14,420	38,557

Farm families are larger than those in rural and urban centers.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY 1961 [4]

Rural	4.3
Farm	4.5
Non-Farm	4.2
Urban	3.7
Canada	3.9

Studies of rural farm women reveal certain characteristics. The great majority are married and tend to have attained a higher grade

level in school than their husbands, but not to have attained the same level as urban women.[2] The roles of farm women include some farm work[1 2 18] in addition to homemaking in its broadest interpretation. Farm women have more children than their urban counterparts and, while children are in their school years, may spend many hours chauffeuring them to and from meetings of youth organizations such as 4-H clubs, church groups, and sports activities.[18] Many farm women have been in the labour force before marriage, as school teachers, nurses, and stenographers, as well as positions requiring less training, and may continue or return to positions requiring less training, and may continue or return to positions off the farm as the family financial situation, farm location, or interest indicates.[2] Some farm women have responsibilities in local voluntary organizations — church, sports, educational service or as leaders of youth groups. Some give voluntary community service as members of school boards, agricultural committees and other formal organizations.

Homemaking has many similarities in Canadian homes.

> "The urban way of life through radio, television, newspapers, and other mass media and through developments in transportation have all but eliminated any major cultural differences between the city and the country. The residents of rural areas operate increasingly by urban standards and values." (7 p. 36)

Generally the family, French or English, is a close knit unit with each member doing his share of the work of the home and farm, and with husband and wife making decisions as a team (7 p. 98, 104).[2 18]

The majority of rural homes have electricity and water systems. Electric or gas refrigerators, freezers, ranges, water heaters, sewing machines and the innumerable small appliances are common in both rural and urban homes.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Opportunities for education and vocational training are widely available in Canada for both farm and non-farm rural women to assist them for their responsibilities in the home, on the farm, in their communities, and for their own personal recreation and satisfaction.

MASS MEDIA

For general interest in homemaking and citizenship, women's magazines such as *Châtelaine* seem to be as popular in rural as in urban areas. Also, radio and television programming, by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and by commercial stations, includes time

devoted to the interests of women as homemakers, consumers, and citizens, and time devoted to agricultural interests. The weekly farm press features items of interest to farm and other rural women.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Home Economics Extension Services

Most of the provinces maintain home economics extension services planned to assist rural women in their own communities with homemaking. Professional home economists advise and instruct in foods and nutrition; textiles, clothing, selection and construction, child development; home management; home planning, decorating and furnishing; food preservation; home crafts, and consumer information. In addition, courses in programme planning, meeting procedures, citizenship, cultural activities are encouraged and facilitated. [14] [15] [16]

The organization of the home economics extension services varies from province to province. Some have central staffs only (Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island) and others (Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta) have central staffs or specialists and home economists in districts. Most are supported by provincial Departments of Agriculture but at least two (Saskatchewan, Newfoundland) are financed through provincial Departments of Education. In Quebec, through the Department of Agriculture, there are services in both French and English languages. [14]

Local initiative is usually required for courses in communities. Groups of women request courses and an instructor is made available. Tuition fees are not usually charged.

Courses may deal with any aspect of homemaking. Topics may be suggested by the home economics extension services that allow a local group to make a selection, or the topic may be forwarded by the local group.

There is little formal research of the needs or wants of rural women aside from that done in Saskatchewan and in Ontario. [2] [17] On the other hand, leaders of provincially organized rural women's groups meet with home economics extension workers and are in a position to keep these planners informed of recognized needs.

Special needs of particular groups may be served in various ways. For example, in Saskatchewan there are 11,430 [3] Indian women and girls on Reserves included in the rural population. When a request for a course in home management was received in 1965 from a group

of Indian women the invitation was accepted, and the home management specialist met with a group of Indian women on two occasions to discuss management of money for food. She was accompanied by a lay-instructor of sewing who lived near the reserve. As a result of this contact the Indian women arranged with the extension service for the lay-instructor to help them.

In April 1967 a group of 10 Indian women, each selected by groups on different Reserves, attended a five-day course in a central location where they prepared and served meals and practised the teaching of the newly acquired knowledge of food management and skills on food preparation. When they returned to their homes they shared their learnings by having classes with their neighbors and friends, and with women on nearby Reserves.

SUMMARY OF COURSES ON RESERVES[22]

Year	*No. of Courses*	*Enrolment*
1965	3	45
1966	18	160
1967	55	534

Groups on 27 Reserves have had courses. Of these 57 were in sewing skills and 17 in food management.

Home economics extension services use mass media in a variety of ways. News releases, news letters, minute tapes for radio, and T.V. appearances are used for publicizing programmes, for alerting the public to problems, and for general information.

A series of demonstrations of clothing construction on television has shown that skills may be learned through this method with results in workmanship comparable with that of a course situation.[21]

ADULT EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

While home economics extension services are the traditional sources of homemaking information for rural women, these women may participate in adult education classes in the school system.

Adult education classes may be arranged through school boards in any subject which interests a group of people and for which an instructor is available. While the classes are usually planned for the village, town or city population, rural women interested in the offerings may and do participate.

Subject matter in these classes is based on locally identified needs and wants and may include academic and vocational subjects, and cultural, homemaking, and handicraft studies.

In small centers availability of competent instructional staff may be the limiting factor in the variety of offerings. The migration of young people with education and initiative into urban areas has been recognized by Whyte (20 p. 75) in the changing rural scene in Canada. Those remaining in the community tend to be those who have not developed their abilities.

In order to train people who live in rural areas and in small communities to serve as instructors, the Extension Division in Saskatchewan has a limited number of short courses in a central location. These are planned with reference to the interest in crafts and time of rural women, and to which rural women's groups are encouraged to send representatives. Even though there are many elements in the idea which are foreign to the traditional thinking in most small communities, some farm women are enrolling, and sharing their learning with their communities.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICES

Women on farms are active participants in the farm enterprise often as partners with their husbands in the planning and working for satisfying and successful farm and family units. [1]

Farm work performed by women includes care of poultry, gardening, cleaning of milk equipment, milking, keeping farm account books, field work, feeding livestock. [1]

For information on these interests rural women on farms turn to the agricultural extension services of the provincial Departments of Agriculture. The district agriculturalist or agricultural representative encourages wives to attend courses with their husbands. In some provinces courses in farm management and the farm business are planned for couples. [15]

LIBRARIES

Only rural people in Regional Library areas are served with books and library services at the standard expected by residents of cities and large towns.

Fortunately regional libraries are being organized and it seems possible that in the future, the majority of rural people will have access to adequate libraries as resources for learning.

EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF...

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING PROGRAMS

Health teaching and home visiting are traditional and important services provided by public health nurses.

In Canada there are prenatal programs for expectant mothers where they may learn the normal growth and development during pregnancy and the care of the new born infant. This is generally done through a series of classes given by public health nurses. Further instructions on the care of the newborn are given during post-natal visits. Child Health Conferences or Well Baby Clinics are held regularly in small rural as well as urban communities. Infants and pre-school children are examined and parents are counselled in health promotion and normal growth and development.

The 1965-66 Annual Report of the Department of Public Health, Province of Saskatchewan, shows 13,568 child health conferences, 550 pre-natal classes, and 716 meetings attended as group education services. [17]

NUTRITION PROGRAMS

Educational programs of the nutritionists interpret Canada's Food Guide in terms of daily family meals for all age groups, offer assistance with special diets, and help in understanding legislation relating to food, through mass media, courses and meetings. [17]

OTHER

In addition to home economics extension services, adult classes in the school system, and libraries, and public health services, rural women have access to home service sections of utility companies, and other such organizations for information falling within special interests.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Voluntary associations — defined as private groups, voluntarily and more or less formally organized, joined and maintained by members pursuing a common interest usually by part-time unpaid activities — are part of rural life in Canada.

Of first importance among the voluntary associations directed toward educational goals are the Women's Institutes and Cercle des Fermières. Other rural groups of women and families provide educational experience when this is the wish of members or is required for particular activities.

Some rural women are members of groups that link their interests with those of the urban population such as those related to churches such as the Catholic Women League and the Consumers' Association of Canada.

Women's Institutes

The idea that rural women should join together "To improve physical, intellectual and cultural conditions in the home and raise the standards of homemaking", came from Mrs. Adelaide Hoodless who, with the help of Mr. Erland Lee of the Ontario Farmers' Institute, organized the first Women's Institute at Stoney Creek, Ontario in 1897. [12]

After losing a young son by using impure milk, Mrs. Hoodless' deep concern at the rural women's lack of knowledge of the sciences and skills of homemaking, caused her to encourage women to form groups with objectives of gaining and sharing this knowledge.

This idea was accepted by rural women in Ontario and spread across Canada. Now there are rural women's organizations in all the ten provinces with the motto "For Home and Country". [9] Although most provincial groups are named Women's Institutes, "Cercle des Fermières" was selected by the French-speaking women in Quebec, Saskatchewan women chose "Homemakers" and Newfoundland women organized as "Jubilee Guilds". The organizations are open to all women, without barriers of age, race, or religion.

A national organization, Federated Women's Institutes of Canada, (F.W.I.C.), was organized by the English speaking groups in 1919, and since this time the provincial units have shared common concerns and ideas through this channel. [8]

Federated Women's Institutes of Canada and the Cercle de Fermières were the hostess-societies for the Conference of the Associated Countrywomen of the World in Toronto in 1953. This international organization of rural women founded in Vienna in 1930 has a membership of 200 constituent societies in 49 countries. [6] Triennial Conferences focus on concerns of rural women such as "Learning to Live", to be considered at the Conference planned for 1968 in the United States.

There are 61,337 members in 3,154 institutes, clubs and guilds in the ten provincial units that constitute the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada. [9]

In addition to arranging courses in their communities with home economics extension services, local groups carry on many activities directed toward community betterment, sometimes by initiating a project, sometimes by helping other groups. Alive to the needs and aware of the environment in which their children are growing, the women's groups encourage recreation for young and old : care for small cemeteries; award scholarships; plant flowers; and in general, influence the physical, cultural, and spiritual life of the district.

Ideas come from many places and for Women's Institute members the educational part of their meetings is important. Using the leadership of conveners, they consider agriculture, cultural activities, home economics and public health, citizenship and education, and the United Nations. [8]

Branches welcomed visitors from Ceylon, Basutoland, and Guyana on study tours under UNESCO Grants through the Associated Countrywomen of the World in the 1965-68 period. [9] The branches were able to give their guests experiences which added to their understanding of rural groups in Canada and of adult learning. In exchange Women's Institute members gained insights into life in other lands.

The Women's Institute's formal plot and picnic nook in the International Peace Garden, the writing of *Heritage of Canadian Handicrafts,* and contributions to UNESCO gift coupons are national F.W.I.C. projects which give all members a sense of achievement. The three Tweedsmuir Competitions — a cultural activity, a community history and a handicraft — have widened the interest of members and resulted in the learning of new skills and gaining new appreciation. The community histories, contributions to the wider community, have proved useful to historians as resource material.

F.W.I.C.'s contribution to adult learning was recognized in 1955 with the Henry Marshall Tory Award. [8]

Canadian association of consumers

As consumers, rural women need information on new products on the market, understanding of the operation of the marketing system and an organization through which their problems as buyers and users may be voiced. The Canadian Association of Consumers with objectives of educating the consumer, testing of products, and maintaining contacts with the manufacturing and marketing organizations, unites Canadian consumers, both rural and urban, and provides a means of communication. In the bi-monthly publication all articles and test results are printed in both French and English. [5]

RURAL GIRLS

Opportunities for educational and vocational training for rural girls and young women today are different from those which were available to their mothers.

During the last few decades Canada has become an urban society. In 1921, about 50 per cent of the population was rural and in 1966, 26.4 per cent lived on farms or in centers with less than 1,000 population. The number of rural farm people is 9.5 per cent of the population of the country. [3]

Educational authorities, recognizing this change and the trend toward a further decrease in rural farm and non-farm population, have directed educational policies, particularly at the secondary and post-secondary levels, towards providing opportunities in the school systems which will allow young people to prepare themselves for urban living.

EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Provinces are responsible for education in Canada. The terms of the British North America Act entitle provincial governments to determine educational policies and practices in elementary and secondary schools within its boundaries.

As one would expect each province has developed educational curricula and facilities that reflect its particular needs in addition to the general needs of the people and the country.

Characteristics common to most provinces include co-educational schools, graded from one to twelve or thirteen, in tax-supported institutions. In rural areas larger units of school administration have developed centralized facilities in the last twenty or thirty years. These have made it feasible for the school system to offer a wider variety of subject matter taught by more specialized teaching staffs than was possible in the "little red school house" era. Children travel by bus from their homes to these centralized schools each day.

The curricula in secondary schools allow students to select courses meeting university entrance requirements or generalized education with balanced programs of vocational preparatory and related subjects in commercial, technical, trade, agricultural, service, and other occupational fields. These schools are a characteristic of Canadian secondary school education and are operated as part of the regular school system by municipal school boards. [10]

Home Economics courses are part of the secondary school program in all provinces, but not in all schools within each province. The courses focus on personal and family living with emphasis in helping students to develop their full potential in intellectual competence, self-discipline and social responsibility.

It is interesting to note that classes directed to preparing individuals for effective home living trace their beginning to the Ursulines Convent in Quebec in the seventeenth century.

Today content, point of emphasis and number of courses in Home Economics vary according to local needs of each province. In some provinces the study is required; for example, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Quebec. In others it is optional, and may include classes in nutrition and foods areas for boys as in British Columbia, Alberta, and Nova Scotia. All provinces recognize the changing pattern of life and are planning new courses and updating others to help students meet and solve problems of today's living. [13]

For those students who complete the high school program, Canada's 40 institutes of technology provide advanced technological or applied arts education leading to the diploma of technology. The fields of training include engineering, health and medical occupations, business and commerce, agriculture, fisheries, mining, construction, communications, paper making, textiles and many others emphasizing the understanding and application of mathematical, scientific, and technological principles to an occupational field.

Business education such as training courses in typewriting, shorthand, elementary accounting, business machines, marketing, retailing and salesmanship are included in vocational institutes, as well as training for the service trades such as waitress training, nurses aids, homemaking, and hairdressing.

Dr. C. R. Ford, in an outline of the broad programme of manpower training in Canada, said that the objective of our modern vocational education system is to provide the best possible occupational education for all citizens.

Vocational agriculture

Most provinces have vocational agriculture schools at the post-secondary level. At these schools young people, chiefly young men, are trained for careers in farming or in the agricultural industry. In addition to general agriculture, specializations in horticulture, irrigation

technology and agricultural business are scheduled by some in one or two-year courses. [15]

Some agricultural schools, for example Alberta, Ontario and Quebec, include home economics and/or fashion and design, for young women. The courses are aimed toward training for employment but provide useful backgrounds for homemaking on the farm or in other situations.

University — Agriculture

In Canada Colleges of Agriculture are included in some universities. Graduates, professional agrologists, tend to enter the agricultural industry rather than farming.

Young women may enrol to become specialist in horticulture, poultry management or other such areas but these fields do not attract an appreciable number.

Home economics

There are eighteen faculties of Home Economics in Canada. Some are on small college campuses, others are part of large universities. The enrollment includes rural young women.

Students in home economics may specialize in home management, clothing and textiles, foods and/or nutrition, child development, or home design. Graduate home economists serve as extension personnel, or home service supervisors with utilities, or, after suitable post graduate training, teach in secondary schools or are employed as dietitians or nutritionists.

Teacher training

Teacher training institutions attract many young women, rural and urban, in non-degree programmes.

In Canada there is some concern regarding girls and careers. Theoretically a girl may select training in any field but since in practice her choice reflects family and community values, her selection may be more circumscribed.

In a percentage comparison of women students against total number of students in professional university faculties in five different countries, it would seem, relatively speaking, that Canadian girls have low expectations of themselves, do not find these professions attractive,

and/or that something in the social environment is discouraging them from seeking a career.

Country	*Law*	*Pharmacy*	*Medicine*	*Science* *
Australia (1965)	11	41	17	20
Belgium (1964)	15.8	42.62	14.92	25.2
Canada (1964-65)	4.9	33.3	9.1	16.3
Denmark (1962-63)	26.8	52.5	24.2	22.4
Ireland (N & S)	21	40	26	30
Norway (1961)	17	62.5	23	26.65

* Percentage of women students in faculty. [11]

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

4-H clubs, Girl Guides, various groups with church sponsorship, Junior Women's Institutes and Young Farmers' groups are among the voluntary associations that attract rural members and provide social, sports and learning experiences.

Of these, 4-H clubs are the most widely known in rural areas. There are clubs in all ten provinces.

These voluntary groups of boys and girls between 12 and 21 years of age use one or more of over fifty projects to learn agriculture, homemaking and citizenship. The programme is based on voluntary adult leadership and encouraged by provincial departments of agriculture and/or education, and business organizations.

The membership in Canada in 1966, recorded by the Canadian Council on 4-H Clubs was 84,503, of this 51,872 were girls, in 5,535 clubs.

CONCLUSION

Rural women in their voluntary organizations have a choice of sources of information about homemaking, agriculture and other interests. Through home economics and agricultural extension services, school adult education programs, public health nursing programs and from mass media, they learn and share their learning with one another and their communities. Disadvantaged by limited formal schooling and sometimes by distances from centers, they endeavor to encourage their sons and daughters to take the training that will prepare them to grasp the greater opportunities of today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1 Abell, Helen C. *The "Woman's Touch" in Canadian Farm Work.* The Economic Annalist, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1954.

2 Abell, Helen C. *Special Report of Ontario Farm Homes and Homemakers.* Home Economics Branch, Ontario Department of Agriculture. Progress Reports, 9, May, 1964.

3 — Census of Canada, 1966.

4 — Census of Canada, 1961.

5 — Consumers Association of Canada, Canadian Consumer, Ottawa. Vol. 5, No. 2, 1967.

6 — A.C.W.W. Leaflet No. 1, Associated Countrywomen of the World, London, England, 1967.

7 Elkin, Frederick, *The Family in Canada.* Canadian Conference on the Family, 55 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa 3, 1964.

8 — *Federated Women's Institutes of Canada,* Federated Women's Institutes of Canada, Ottawa, 1961.

9 — *Federated Women's Institutes of Canada Seventh Annual Board Meeting and Fourth National Convention.* Federated Institutes of Canada, Ottawa, 1967.

10 Ford, C. R. *"The T.V.T. Program Today", Technical and Vocational Education in Canada,* Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Issue No. 8, Spring, 1966.

11 Gillen, Mollie, *The Royal Commission on Status of Women.* Chatelaine, Vol. 41, No. 1, January, 1968.

12 Howes, Ruth, *Adelaide Hoodless Woman with a Vision,* Federated Women's Institutes of Canada, Ottawa, 1965.

13 McFarlane A. Bernice, *Survey of Home Economics Education in Canadian Schools.* Canadian Home Economics Journal, Vol. 16, No. 4, December, 1966.

14 Pattillo, M. *Home Economics Extension Services for Canadian Women,* Canadian Home Economics Journal, Vol. 12, No. 1, March, 1962.

15 — Report of Department of Agriculture for the Province of Alberta, 1966. Queen's Printer, Edmonton.

16 — Report of Department of Agriculture, Province of Ontario, 1965, Queen's Printer, Toronto.

17 — Report of Department of Public Health, Province of Saskatchewan, 1966, Queen's Printer, Regina.

18 — Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life Report, No. 10. *The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan.* The Queen's Printer, Regina, 1956.

19 Scarborough, Mrs. Neve, *A.C.W.W. History*. The Associated Country-women of the World, London, England, 1953.

20 Tremblay, Marc Adélard and Walton J. Anderson. Editors. *Rural Canada in Transition*, Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada. Publication No. 6, Mutual Press Ltd., Ottawa, 1966.

21 — *Television : A Medium for Teaching Skills*, Continuous Learning, Vol. 6, No. 4, July-August, 1967.

22 — Unpublished records of courses for Indian Women, a joint project with Indian Affairs, Regina, and Extension Division, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

THE FAMILY IN THE EVOLUTION OF AGRICULTURE

The Vanier Institute of the Family
L'Institut Vanier de la famille
170 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa, Canada

Price, $1.00

THE VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY